1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

Annex "A," Subparagraph 3h,
Economic Background

FORCED LABOR

I. INTRODUCTION

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466 The conscription of forced labor is practiced in North China as it is in other regions of the country and follows the same pattern as is found in the country as a whole. There are two categories of forced labor in the North. The first is prison labor - those prisoners who were condemned as counterrevolutionaries and violators of landreform laws and others condemned during the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns. These prisoners are sentenced to manual labor during their prison terms. Some of them are kept in prisons or detention houses to perform their labor services, but most of them are organized into labor corps which may be assigned as needed to work individual sites. The second category is civilian labor recruited by government directives from among the surplus farmhands, the unemployed, and refugees from floods and droughts. They are employed in mass-labor projects, such as the harnessing of the Hwai River and the Ching River and the construction of the Chengtu-Chungking Railway and the Sikang-Tibet Highway. A study of the forced labor in North China must, of necessity, put

697 major emphasis on the first category, that is,
466 "Reform-through-labor."

II. REFORM-THROUGH-LABOR IN HOPEI PROVINCE

697 The nationwide drive for the suppression
695 of counterrevolutionaries started after Communist China entered the war in Korea at the end of 1950. Lo Jui-ch'ing, Minister of Public Security of the Communist Government, reported on October 1, 1951, that according to incomplete statistics submitted by eight administrative districts and four municipalities in Hopei Province during the first nine months of 1951, 3,900,000 people participated in 653 public trials.[1] The "public trial" is something new in Communist China. It is entirely different from the court procedure in a democratic country and akin to the trials which took place during the French Revolution. The procedure of the public trial is in the hands of the Public Security Office, which is in charge of inviting confessions or accusations from the public and of framing charges against the accused. The accused cannot defend himself because he is not allowed to speak, nor is he given the counsel of a lawyer. Public Security officers recommend punishment and the public passes final judgment. A sentence of imprisonment condemns the accused to "Reform-though-

1. Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking, Oct. 1, 1951, p. 3.

1: Stanford U: S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

697 labor."
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The report made by Lo Jui-ch'ing does not mention either the number accused or the number of prisoners undergoing reform-through-labor. A report from Taiwan estimates that about 80,000 prisoners were sentenced to reform-through-labor in Peking in 1954.[2] Among these prisoners were a large number of women.[3]

III. CH'ING-HO FARM, A "REFORM-THROUGH LABOR" PROJECT

A. History and Development of Ch'ing-ho Farm

697 Under the Communist regime, North China was one of the first regions to establish "Reform-through-labor" camps.[4] Ch'ing-ho Farm was created by the Public Security Bureau in March 1950, just five months after the establishment of the Central People's Government, on 90,000 mou (13,590 acres) of desolate land west of Ch'a-ting-chan along the railway from Peking to Shan-hai-kuan. In the first year, eight Hsin-jen-ts'un

2. Chung-kuo Lao-kung [Free China Labor] Taipei, Free China Labor League, No. 60, May 1, 1953, p. 46.

3. Ya-chou Tien-hsün [Asia Foundation News Bulletin], San Francisco, Aug. 19, 1955.

4. Reform-through-labor camps were first established in Northeast and Northwest China.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

697 [Rebirth Villages] were established, 2,500 room were constructed, 1,500,000 cubic meters (49,140,000 cubic feet) of earthwork were dug, and the prisoners erected electric pumping stations capable of irrigating 50,000 mou (7,550 acres) of land. Clinics and laboratories, as well as engineering and trasportation corps, were established. In keeping with the needs of the farm, brick kilns, rice mills, and a straw-bag factory were built. All of these were constructed by the prisoners in a little more than one year.

In 1950, 7,000 mou (1,055 acres) of land were reclaimed, and rice was planted on 5,000 mou (755 acres), which produced 2,600,000 catties (2,652,000 lbs) of rice. In 1951, another 33,000 mou (4,983 acres) of land were reclaimed and rice was planted on 23,500 mou (3,584 acres) which yielded 15,000,000 catties (15,300,000 lbs) of rice. The prisoners also raised chickens, ducks, cows, and pigs, and tended vegetable gardens and planted trees. Since 1952, Ch'ing-ho Farm has been producing surplus products which become the property of the Chinese People's Government.

Eight tractors are in use, power-driven pumps irrigate the rice fields, and airplanes are used to spread insecticides to kill locusts. In 1950, the average yield of rice per mou was 550 catties (605 lbs), increasing to 600 (673 lbs) in 1951. The average yield per mou in neigh-

697 boring farms was 450 catties (495 lbs).[5]

B. The Prisoners

The prisoners condemned to "Reform-through-labor" include Kuomintang army officers, secret agents, bandits, "despots," habitual robbers and thieves, vagabonds, avaricious government officials, and members of reactionary secret societies who were called by the famous Communist playwright, Ts'ao Yü, "the dregs of society, the bloodsuckers of the people." The Communists consider the prisoners "enemies of the working class, men who oppressed the people, 'rode on the heads of the people,' and undermined society." They are put in prison not only to prevent them from continuing their "criminal activities," but to force them to "recognize their past crimes and reform into new men through labor." In the past, they had lived "on the exploitation of the working class;" after they had experienced reform-through-labor they were "able to live on their own labor."[6] In fact, most of these prisoners were imprisoned as a result of the drive to suppress counterrevolutionaries and offenders of land-reform laws and marriage laws, and included men sentenced at public trials during the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns. There were about 5,000 prisoners

5. Kuang-ming Jih- pao [Enlightenment Daily], Peking, Oct., 18, 1951, p. 1.

6. Ts'ao Yü "Hsiu-mu Sheng-ch'u-le Lü-ya -- Wo So-chien-ti Ch'ing-ho Nung-ch'ang" ["Green Shoots Have Emerged From Rotten Wood -- The Ch'ing-ho Farm That I Saw"], People's

697 at the beginning of 1950 and the number increased to 30,000 in 1952 during the campaign for the suppression of counterrevolutionaries.[7]

Generally, the prisoners are organized into units according to the character of their offenses and the length of their sentences. A unit consisting of 600 prisoners occupies one Rebirth Village.[8] But there are exceptions, when prisoners live in mixed groups or are kept in individual cells. Women prisoners are ho used in separate quarters.

C. Labor Production and Political Education

The basic policy of the Chinese Communists for the reform of prisoners is a combination of labor production and political education.[9] The Ch'ing-ho Farm has implemented this policy from the beginning. The manager of the farm recently said to a visitor, "The farm pays special attention to their education, so that they may understand the international situation of the day and the future of the state. They are induced

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Daily, Peking, July 3, 1955, p. 3.

7. Cheng Chu-yüan, Chung-kung Ti Nu-kung Chih-tu [The Slavery System of the Chinese Communists], Hong Kong, 1952, p. 79.

8. Enlightenment Daily, Oct. 18, 1951, p.1.

9. See Article 7 of the Common Program; Mao Tse-tung, On People's Democratic Dictatorship; Constitution of the People's Republic of China.

697 to admit their past crimes and to obey the law."[10]

One official report[11] stated that, when the prisoners first came to the farm, "they had no habit for work, no production skill; some even openly resisted work, despised labor, and sabotaged production by deliberately falling down in carrying earth and lying on the ground for a long time; some stayed longer than they needed in the toilet to evade work. When the authorities of the farm explained the policy of Reform-through labor contained in Mao Tse-tung's On People's Democratic Dictatorship, "... the criminals showed great resistance to the idea, some cried bitterly, many went on hunger strike, many wrote their last letters and planned suicide or escape." The farm authorities pointed out to the prisoners that Reform-through-labor was the most magnanimous policy of the Central People's Government toward the counterrevolutionaries, and that only through labor could they be changed into new men. By the Communists' own admission, when UN troops landed on Inchon in Sept. 1950, some prisoners expressed doubt that the Chinese Communists would be able to survive the assault. The farm authorities planned a three-month political-training program for the prisoners in the winter of 1950. According to

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10. NCNA, Peking, April 13, 1955; quoted in Survey of China Mainland Press, Hong Kong, No. 1030, p. 45.

11. Enlightenment Daily, Oct. 18, 1951, p.1.

697 Communist statistics, in the period from March 1950 to October 1951, 80 per cent of the prisoners changed their ideology and obeyed the regulations of the farm and 10 per cent became activists. Only 10 per cent were able to resist Communist persuasion.[12]

In discussing changes of ideology caused by the Reform-through-labor programs, the Communists cite two examples: "Criminal" Yang Ch'eng-jung flung himself upon a gap in a ditch through which water to irrigate a rice field was escaping and remained there until the damage was repaired. Miao Kan, who was released from the prison farm before the expiration of his term, asked to be allowed to stay there. He said, "[Although] I was once an employee of the Japanese consulate...[and] a former agent of the Kuomintang Army, I have no reason not to work honestly on the farm."[13]

According to the Communists, the productivity of the prisoners also increased as a result of their ideological education. When the digging of ditches began in 1950, each prisoner dug less than 1.5 cubic meters (about 48 cubic feet) per day, but several years later the average amount had been raised to 7 cubic meters (about 224 cubic feet).

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12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.

697 According to Liang Wen-ying, manager of Ch'ing-ho farm, two thirds of the criminals had been changed into "new men" by July 1955 as a result of the policy of combining labor production and political education.

D. Living Conditions

In principle, the prisoners are expected to work nine to ten hours a day; in practice, they work a far greater length of time. The system of "fixed time, fixed quality, and fixed quantity" was adopted when the farm was organized. In the case of the digging of ditches, the system requires that each criminal dig a certain number of cubic meters of earth each day, but the officials in charge of the farm continues to raise the amount expected. Industry is encouraged by competition for the "red flag award," and there is a system of merits and demerits and placards announcing promotions and demotions. All of these methods have resulted in lengthening the working hours and making the working conditions of the prisoners still harsher. The farm manager's report stated that, when ditches were dug in the early spring of 1951, the temperature was below freezing and yet some of the prisoners worked barefoot on the ice, and many prisoners dug as much as 34 cubic meters per day. After extolling the prisoners, the report concluded that "miracles of this kind could not be achieved by force but only by implementation of the policy of Reform-through-labor."

The farm authorities, according to the

697 report, gave proper attention to the health and welfare of the prisoners. When the farm was established, there were only two clinics, but by 1955 a hospital had been built and there were clinics in all of the Rebirth Villages. The staff members of the hospital and the clinics were from the ranks of prisoners. The Communist report includes an example of the care alleged to be given to the prisoners. "Wang Kang-chi, a criminal, had an abnormal ulcer on his body, which in the past had never been properly cured. He thought he had not long to live. But after admission to the farm, he was cured of his ailment."14

The authorities, according to the Communist report, have taken charge of the cultural life of the prisoners and planned recreation for them. Many criminals who were illiterates in 1954, it is alleged, were able to read newspapers and write letters by 1955. A weekly paper, Kai-tsao Yüan-ti [Reform Garden], is published by the prisoners. The prisoners even write plays and stage them in the farm auditorium, which is large enough to accommodate an audience of 1,000. A dramatic club has been organized to give shows in nearby villages.

In theevenings, apart from the cultural classes and political study, the prisoners hold

14. NCNA, Peking, April 13, 1955; quoted in Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 1030, p. 45.

697 criticism meetings. In these meetings they are urged to confess their past crimes and admit how they have changed. They are also urged to criticize one another. The Communists believe that self-administered "criticism" is the only way to eliminate "reactionary thought" among the prisoners.

E. Awards, Punishment, and Release

A system of awards and punishment is enforced on the farm. The prisoners who work hard and make efforts to accept "ideological education" are given appropriate spiritual and material awards; for example, they may have their names published in an issue of the Reform Garden. Those who "sincerely repent" and show they have completed their change in ideology, and whose past "crimes" are not considered to have been too serious, are released before their sentences expire. According to Lo Jui-ch'ing, Minister of Public Security, in the four years of 1950-54, Ch'ing-ho Farm had released 5,384 persons on the expiration of their sentences.[15] In 1954-55 another 642 prisoners were released.[16]

Among the 5,384 prisoners said to have been released in the period 1950-54, as many as 1,455, or 27 per cent, were said to have "voluntarily" decided to remain at the farm. In 1955, among the 642 prisoners released, it is alleged that 453, or 72 per cent, asked to be allowed to re-

15. People's Daily, Sept. 7, 1954.
16. Ibid., July 3, 1955, p. 3.

697 main. Those who did remain continued to work on the farm or in its subsidiary factories. They were given better treatment than the prisoners and received wages as ordinary employees of the farm. Most of these people lived on the farm and their wives joined them in work there. Kao An-teng was made prisoner because he had commited a "counterrevolutionary crime", and, on his release, chose to remain in the livestock farming section of the farm. He has since then made his home there. His wife is now head of a production team in the straw-bags department of the farm. His elder son is an apprentice in the paper works of the farm."[17] The Communists insist that such cases are numerous.

In 1954, according to Communist sources, 180 of the released prisoners were employed at the mechanized paper works in the vicinity of Ch'ing-ho Farm. They were engaged in pulp-making, paper manufacturing, and machine tending, and in such clerical tasks as accounting and statistical work. With the exception of three counterrevolutionaries who were deprived of their political rights at the time, the released prisoners were said to have participated in the general elections of 1954, and members of the group were admitted into trade unions.

Since the punishment and reform of prisoners had been a part of farm discipline, there

17. NCNA, Peking, April 11, 1953; quoted in SCMP, No. 1030, p. 45.

•697 was necessity for rigid control. Strict security measures were enforced along the boundaries of the farm. Those stubborn prisoners who openly resisted Reform-through-labor and carried on sabotage or tried to escape were segregated and organized into special labor groups. They were placed under strict control and given extended sentences. For example, Tu Hsi-chin, former chief of the first sub-office of Tangku-Taku Police Bureau, resisted control measures during the Reform-through-labor program and arranged the escape of six prisoners. He was arrested in Peking by the Public Security Service and brought back to the farm. After a public trial he was shot to death. Another prisoner, failing in a plan to escape, hanged himself on a tree.

IV. PEKING JAIL, A "REFORM-THROUGH-LABOR CENTER" IN PEKING

Besides Ch'ing-ho Farm, there are seven other Reform-through-labor camps in the vicinity of Peking. Peking Jail, an ordinary prison before the Communists enlarged it into a labor camp in 1949, is one of these. In appearance it looks like any ordinary factory. It includes hosiery works and shops for weaving, paper making, and printing. Two-thirds of the prisoners were once "counterrevolutionaries," and the other third were "common criminals." Among the counterrevolutionaries were "secret agents of the Kuomintang, habitual bandits, local despots, reactionary landlords, and leaders of the secret societies." Among the "common criminals" were those who

697 "ill-treated apprentices, capitalists who stole property belonging to the state and accepted bribes, violators of the marriage law, people who dealt in narcotics, and women who kept brothels."

According to an article by Chang Chung,[18] a reporter from the Communist New China News Agency who paid a visit to Peking Jail in March 1955, the inmates of the jail worked nine hours a day, six days a week. They spent two hours a day in the study of current affairs. The prisoners made their own bean curd and grew their own vegetables. In the prison compound there were six basketball courts, and the prisoners built two stages for the performance of plays and the showing of motion pictures. A cooperative in the jail sold all kinds of daily necessities; the criminals could obtain without restriction whatever they needed. Five doctors were employed to care for the prisoners. The inmates were urged to bathe once every two weeks.

The jail emphasized the education of the prisoners, according to the Communist report. Besides two hours of political study, illiterate prisoners were compelled to participate in the cultural classes. Many were said to have

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18. Chang Chung, "Reform of Criminals through Labor," People's Daily, April 1, 1955.

•697 acquired a knowledge of about 1,500 Chinese characters within a short time. Take the case of criminal Yang Te-shun; in four generations no member of his family had attended school, but he was given a chance to study in jail. There was a reading room with more than 4,000 copies of magazines and many books. More than 500 fountain pens were sold in the jail co-operative during January-March 1955.

As for production, according to Communist sources, the prisoners in Peking Jail produced 8,568,000 pairs of stockings in 1953.[19] In 1954 they were able to produce each day 48,000 pairs of stockings, 300 pieces of cloth, and 200 reams of printed paper. Prisoners who had learned the skill during Reform-through-labor operated as many as 14 weaving machines per person. The reporter said that when he visited the jail he noticed that the prisoners had written on the wall of one room, "prevent accident, prevent inferior products, overfulfill production plans, and create new records." A list of names of model prisoners was also written on the wall. It is apparent that the same methods used to encourage efficiency and co-operation at Ch'ing-ho Farm are used in Peking Jail.

George Stafford Gale, a reporter for the Manchester Guardian, visited Red China in August 1954 with the British Labor Party. In his book about the trip,[20] he describes the prisoners in jail as follows: "Their work was not unduly heavy. But they made their stockings with de-

19. People's Daily, Sept. 7, 1954.

20. No Flies in China, William Morrow & Co. New York, 1955, pp. 124-26.

697 dicated speed and concentration, performing repeated motions countless times a minute... mindless of any single thought or sensation save the particular primitive muscular function they were performing." As the British Labor Party delegation was about to leave, the deputy-governor of the jail assured the group that prison authorities had no trouble with the prisoners.

Other Reform-through-labor camps in Peking and Tientsin follow the patterns described above. The size and location of the camps are unknown.

V. REFORM-THROUGH-LABOR CORPS OF SHANSI PEOPLE'S COURT

A dispatch from the New China News Agency, dated November 21, 1951, reported that, according to statistics compiled in August 1951, 90 per cent of the prisoners in Shansi provincial prisons were organized into Reform-through-labor corps. The number of prisoners was estimated[21] at about 20,000 in 1952. Those who were allowed a certain measure of freedom were engaged in municipal construction and in coal mining; those who were under security control were employed in prison in the shoe factory or the blacksmith shop. The daily working period was set at nine hours, and the production stan-

21. Chin-jih Shih-chieh [The World Today], Hong Kong, No. 10, Aug. 1, 1955, p. 12.

697 dard was fixed according to the skill and physical strength of the prisoners.

The policy of co-ordinating compulsory labor with political education was followed by the Shansi People's Court in carrying out the Reform-through-labor policy. After a period of political indoctrination, the prisoners accepted the control measures and met the production standard. For instance, the prisoners who dug coal in Taiyuan suburban area steadily increased the quantity of coal they were able to dig. By September 1951, the average amount of coal dug by each prisoner each day was nearly three-tenth of a ton. As of 1951, the Communists allege, the labor corps in Shansi Province were self-sufficient and, since 1952, have produced "surplus value" for the Chinese People's Government.[22]

697 212 The eradication of illiteracy has been a continuing process in Shansi provincial prisons, according to the Communists. As of March 1955, of the illiterate prisoners in the Shansi provincial jail, 71 per cent had acquired a knowledge of from 700 to 1,000 Chinese characters.[23]

VI. MASS LABOR PROJECTS IN THE NORTH

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22. Cheng Chu-yüan, The Slavery System of the Chinese Communists, Hong Kong, 1952, p. 79.

23. NCNA, Peking, March 30, 1955; quoted in SCMP, No. 1020, p. 25.

653 several hundred thousand civilians during 1953-54 to supplement the crew already at work. The recruits were requested to bring with them horses and wagons. Huai-lai hsien alone contributed 3,000 workers, and the farmers along the line were occasionally obliged to help. The line was opened to traffic in July 1955.

The Feng-t'ai -- Sha-ch'eng Line connects the Chi-ning -- Erh-lien and the Peking -- Pao-t'ou lines and facilitates transportation between Inner Mongolia and North China. It has strategic significance as well as economic importance.

VII. CONCLUSION

• 697 Although the Chinese Communists have publicized their policy of Reform-through-labor, there are few trustworthy statistics available to allow for a systematic study.

In the case of Ch'ing-ho Farm, all of the reports cited came through the New China News Agency, and there is no reason to believe these reports are reliable. Raja Hutheesing, an Indian visitor who traveled through Red China on behalf of the India-China Friendship Associ[illegible]30 in September 1951 and had read a New China News Agency report on the ideal conditions at Ch'ing-ho Farm, asked to see the farm itself, but his

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30. Raja Hutheesing, The Great Peace, New York, Harper & Brothers, 1953, pp. 184-95.

• 697 request was denied. It is reasonable to assume that glowing reports on Ch'ing-ho Farm are merely Communist propaganda. Even so, available information regarding forced labor, sabotage, and suicides within the labor camp gives an indication, in some measure, of what the actual conditions in the labor camp may be.

In the case of Peking Jail it is designed as the capital's showplace, a cynical choice by itself to demonstrate the accomplishments of the Communist regime to visitors from foreign lands. But even the showplace is not be inspected too carefully. When George Stafford Gale visited the jail, he was warned neither to speak to the prisoners nor to ask for statistics.

The reports from Ch'ing-ho Farm and Peking Jail might have been designed for purposes of propaganda; still they indicate that in a Communist forced labor camp a human being does not exist as such. The value of an inmate to the camp is measured by the number of cubic feet of earth he digs or by the number of stockings he turns out. His strength is exploited to the utmost degree without regard to his fundamental human rights, and the harsh treatment he receives is justified in the name of the Communist regime.